614 623 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

[643] As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 231 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 621 592 423 831 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma, and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.

[251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

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sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his difficulties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kinsman of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in